

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 118505 TOSEC 010140

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ANKARA NICOSIA
FROM ATHENS 21 MAY 75:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 3736

EXDIS

DEPT PASS TO THE SECRETARY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR TU GR

SUBJECT/BITSIOS-CAGLAYANGIL MEETING IN ROME

REF: A. ATHENS 3722 B. ATHENS 3689

1. DEPTUY FORMIN STAVROPOULOS CALLED ME LATE YES-
TERDAY AND SAID THAT FORMIN BITSIOS HAD BEEN DELAYED
IN ROME AND THAT HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BY CARAMANLIS
AND BITSIOS TO BRIEF ME ON THE RESULTS OF THE ROME MEETINGS.
(BITSIOS SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED TO ATHENS LATE LAST NIGHT. THE
OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR HIS DELAY WAS AN OLYMPIC AIRLINES STRIKE;
HOWEVER, STAVROPOULOS TOLD ME THAT BITSIOS WAS "DEAD TIRED" AND
APPARENTLY WANTED TO REMAIN IN ROME TO REST, THUS AVOIDING YES-
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TERDAY AFTERNOON'S AND LAST NIGHT'S OFFICIAL PROGRAM FOR VISITING

FCO MINISTER HATTERSLY. HE MAY ALSO HAVE WANTED TO GIVE HATTERSLEY A PARTIAL COLD SHOULDER.)

2. I WENT TO STAVROPOULOS' OFFICE LAST NIGHT AND HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW BITSIOS CABLED REPORTS OF THE MEETINGS. THEY WERE CONSIDERABLY MORE NEGATIVE AND INDICATED MUCH MORE DISSATISFACTION THAN THE PRESS AND OTHER INDICATIONS HAVE REFLECTED ON THE TURKISH SIDE.

3. IN ONE OF BITSIOS MAIN CABLED REPORTS, HE SAID, "ALTHOUGH CAGLAYANGIL DISCUSSED WITH ME THE VARIOUS SUBJECTS PENDING BETWEEN US AND AFFIRMED THAT THE GOT WISHED TO BETTER GREECE-TURKEY RELATIONS, WHEN WE DISCUSSED CYPRUS, CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN TURKEY WAS SUCH THAT HE HIMSELF COULD NOT MAKE ANY CONCRETE PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT". CAGLAYANGIL ADDED THAT THE POWERS OF THE CYPRUS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT COULD BE DISCUSSED IN VIENNA, BUT THAT THE FORM OF THE STATE AND THE GEOGRAPHIC TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SUCH IMPORTANT QUESTIONS HAD TO BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN CAGLAYANGIL AND BITSIOS. BITSIOS TOLD CAGLAYANGIL THAT HE COULD NOT AGREE, AND SAID THAT SINCE CAGLAYANGIL HAD NOTHING TO SUGGEST, THERE WAS REALLY NOTHING FOR THE TWO OF THEM TO DISCUSS. BITSIOS TOLD CAGLAYANGIL THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE THE POSITION OF CLERIDES AS THE NEGOTIATOR FOR THE GREEK SIDE. CAGLAYANGIL THEN ARGUED FOR AT LEAST A DIALOGUE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND BITSIOS ON THIS SUBJECT, AND BITSIOS ONCE AGAIN ASKED CAGLAYANGIL WHAT TURKEY WAS PREPARED TO OFFER OR DO TO REACH A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. FOR EXAMPLE, BITSIOS ASKED, WHAT WAS TURKEY WILLING TO DO ABOUT THE TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS ON CYPRUS? CAGLAYANGIL REPLIED THAT THE "ATTILA LINE" WOULD HAVE TO REMAIN PRETTY MUCH AS IT WAS "WITH ONLY VERY SMALL ADJUSTMENTS".

4. IN THEIR SECOND MEETING ON SUNDAY, CAGLAYANGIL -- ACCORDING TO BITSIOS -- WAS MORE FLEXIBLE. CAGLAYANGIL ASKED FOR BITSIOS THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS AND SAID HE WOULD TRY TO EXPLAIN THEM TO THE AUTHORITIES IN ANKARA. BITSIOS SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO GIVE OR NEGOTIATE DETAILS BUT THAT FROM THE GREEK POINT OF VIEW, TWO CONDITIONS WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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SINE QUA NON: A) "REHABILITATION OF THE REFUGEES", AND B) "GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION PERMITTING THE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS". BITSIOS DID NOT PROPOSE ANY GEOGRAPHICAL LINE OR PERCENTAGES OF TERRITORY. BITSIOS SAID THAT HIS PRESENTATION AND ARGUMENTS CONCERNING THE REFUGEES AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WERE HEARD "WITH GREAT ATTENTION" AND CAGLAYANGIL PROMISED TO INFORM THE GOT AND THE "OPPOSITION" ABOUT THE GREEK VIEWS.

5. IN ANOTHER CABLED REPORT, BITSIOS SAID THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD APPARENTLY GONE TO ROME WITH THE INTENTION AND APPEARANCE OF TRYING TO CALM DOWN THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, BUT AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE TURKISH DELEGATION "HAD ONLY POSTPONEMENTS IN MIND". FOR EXAMPLE, BITSIOS HAD REPORTED, AT THE OUTSET, CAGLAYANGIL DID NOT EVEN WANT TO DISCUSS THE "FAMOUS COMPROMIS" FOR SUBMISSION TO THE WORLD COURT ON THE AEGEAN DISPUTE. IN FACT, CAGLAYANGIL PRETENDED THAT THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING, THAT HE DID NOT REALIZE THAT A PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF THEIR ROME MEETING WAS TO DISCUSS AND ATTEMPT TO AGREE ON THE "COMPROMIS". INDEED, THE TURKISH DELEGATION DID NOT EVEN HAVE A DRAFT OF ITS OWN OF SUCH A "COMPROMIS." IN THE END, CAGLAYANGIL TOOK THE GREEK DRAFT "TO STUDY" AND SAID HE WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH BITSIOS ABOUT IT. BITSIOS SAID HE FORMED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TURKS "MAY HAVE CHANGED THEIR MIND" ABOUT SUBMITTING THE DISPUTE TO THE WORLD COURT.

6. IN ANOTHER REPORT, BITSIOS SAID THAT ON CYPRUS CAGLAYANGIL "HAD NOTHING TO OFFER", GIVING AS AN EXCUSE THAT "EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN ANKARA" WERE OPPOSED TO ANY CONCESSIONS WHATSOEVER ON CYPRUS. BITSIOS SAID THAT CAGLAYANGIL TRIED TO PRESENT HIMSELF AND DEMIREL AS "MODERATES" --BUT AFTER DEMIREL'S INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN LEMONDE ON MONDAY, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO BELIEVE THAT DEMIREL WAS A MODERATE.

7. WHILE I WAS MEETING WITH STAVROPOULOS, PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS TELEPHONED HIM AND INSTRUCTED STAVROPOULOS TO TELL ME "EVERYTHING", INCLUDING HOW THE COMMUNIQUE WAS NEGOTIATED. STAVROPOULOS RETURNED TO OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSION -- ONLY THE TWO OF US WERE PRESENT -- AND TOLD ME THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESSED BITSIOS VERY HARD TO AGREE TO AN "ENTHUSIASTIC" COMMUNIQUE. BITSIOS HAD ASKED WHY?, -- SINCE "NOTHING HAD HAPPENED". BITSIOS HAD FINALLY RELENTED AND AGREED TO SOME MODERATELY UPBEAT LANGUAGE, AND THEN CAGLAYANGIL WENT BACK TO ANKARA AND GAVE ADDITIONAL GLOWING COMMENTARY TO THE PRESS AND OTHERS.

8. WHY HAD THE TURKS DONE THIS, THE GREEKS WANTED TO KNOW? FOR WHAT REASON? "WE ARE WORRIED", STAVROPOULOS SAID, AND ADDED THAT CARAMANLIS THOUGHT THAT "SOMETHING PECULIAR" WAS GOING ON. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTIONING, STAVROPOULOS ONCE AGAIN (REF B) RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE TURKS MAY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO "INFLUENCE THE VOTE" IN THE US SENATE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR TRYING TO "MISLEAD" PEOPLE WHILE THEY PROCEEDED WITH SECRET PLANS FOR SOME KIND

OF MILITARY ACTION AGAINST GREEK ISLANDS IN THE AEGEAN.

9. I ASKED STAVROPOULOS IF OTHER SUBJECTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN ROME, AND HE REPLIED THAT THEY DID NOT REALLY "DISCUSS" ANYTHING ELSE ALTHOUGH CAGLAYANGIL HAD MADE AN EFFORT TO "BRUSH THROUGH" LIGHTLY ALL OF THE MAJOR POINTS AFFECTING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE ONLY SUBJECT DISCUSSED, ACCORDING TO STAVROPOULOS, THAT HAD EVEN THE "SMALLEST SMELL" OF SUBSTANCE, WAS CAGLAYANGIL'S SUGGESTION THAT PERHAPS THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVTS COULD AGREE BETWEEN THEMSELVES ON THE AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF PROBLEM "WITHOUT GOING" TO THE ICJ IN THE HAGUE.

10. I TOLD STAVROPOULOS THAT I WOULD PASS TO THE SECRETARY THE ESSENCE OF HIS DEBRIEFING TO ME, AND I KNEW THE SECRETARY WOULD APPRECIATE IT. AT THE SAME TIME, I ADDED THAT IF THE GREEK AUTHORITIES MADE A POINT OF PORTRAYING THE BITSIOS-CAGLAYANGIL ROME MEETINGS AS DISAPPOINTING, UNPRODUCTIVE AND UNSATISFACTORY, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME THE TURKS WERE PRESENTING THEM IN AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT LIGHT, WOULD NOT THE GREEKS RUN THE RISK OF TORPEDOING AN EVOLVING BILATERAL DIALOGUE -- WITH ALL THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND POSSIBLE CONFRONTATION? STAVROPOULOS REPLIED THAT THIS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED BUT THAT THE GREEK AUTHORITIES SIMPLY HAD TO FACE FACTS. THE FACTS WERE THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD MADE SOME CORDIAL AND CONCILIATORY NOISES

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BUT THESE WERE ALL ATMOSPHERICS AND BITSIOS COULD DETECT NO SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE WHATEVER IN THE TURKISH POSITIONS.

11. I THANKED STAVROPOULOS FOR THE INFORMATION AND SAID I HOPED TO TALK TO FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS PERSONALLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER HIS RETURN. KUBISCH UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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